

CIVIC ENGAGEMENT IN THE AGE OF DEVOLUTION: HOW
ANTHROPOLOGICAL APPROACHES CAN HELP NAVIGATE GRASSROOTS
CONFLICT

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Dedication

To my beloved parents, Mary and Doug Harvey,

To the many friends that I have lost over these past four years
In memoriam

To the three women who inspired me along this
journey with their wisdom and guidance,

Susan Hyatt

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Civic Engagement in the Age of Devolution: How Anthropological Approaches Can Help
Navigate Grassroots Conflict

Communities are currently being shaped and influenced by larger neoliberal social policies, which has resulted in decreased funding from public sources, which therefore creates greater competition among neighborhood organizations for limited resources. In this thesis, I analyze how larger neoliberal currents have created conflict within the local policy subsystem of rezoning in the Crooked Creek neighborhood in Indianapolis. My analysis spotlights the consequences of devolution one of which is the shift from government to neighborhood governance; I examine these issues by mapping out the causes and consequences of three separate rezoning cases. I compare the conflicting perspectives among local influential organizations, including the Community Development Corporation (CDC) and a number of state registered neighborhood groups. I frame this conflict through the Advocacy Coalition Framework (Sabatier 2007) in order to map out the connections between neoliberal social policies and local level conflict.

KEYWORDS: neoliberalism, grassroots conflict, ethnography, neighborhood governance, neighborhood organizations

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Chapter One

Introduction

It was a rather warm September evening in 2012 as I entered into my very first public neighborhood forum held by the Pike Township Residents Association (PTRA), which operates as an umbrella organization for the surrounding neighborhood groups. They are responsible for hosting public forums and making decisions on land use issues for a majority of the Crooked Creek neighborhood located in Indianapolis¹. As I sat there waiting for the meeting to start, two gentlemen and two ladies sat down behind me. From the context of their conversation, I was able to decipher they were from another neighborhood group in the area. In particular, they were up in arms that PTRA had what one of the gentleman called, “a strangle hold” on the rezoning requests, development, and land use in the area. The other gentleman explosively burst out, “it’s almost like they are a police force and we have no other choice but to go along with whatever they say.” As they continued to discuss the rezoning requests, the meeting was called to order and I noticed over two-thirds of the evening’s agenda was slated for land use and rezoning requests. One after another, various neighborhood members pitched their rezoning proposals in hopes the PTRA board members would approve it.

This was a concept that was rather strange to me considering that the city of Indianapolis has a formal entity in place to make decisions like this, the Board of Zoning Appeals (BZA)². The more neighborhood forums I attended around Crooked Creek, the more I began to see how larger currents of neoliberal social policies were playing out on the ground in terms of local governance and grassroots dynamics. I began to map out the structures, processes, and conflicts I saw at neighborhood public forums. In particular, I noticed how this policy subsystem of rezoning in Crooked Creek served as a platform where zoning conflicts could turn toward a kind of system whereby local residents were policing one another in the interest of attracting local

¹ The Crooked Creek area is vast, and therefore there is more than one organization that oversees land-use issues. The other umbrella type organization in the area, C4, does not hold public forums.

² Board of Zoning Appeals (BZA) hold “...public hearings and are responsible for determining what zoning request and variances get approved or denied. The BZA is split into Division with 5 members per Division: including 1 member MDC, 2 members by the Mayor, and 2 members by the City-County Council” (Indy.gov/division of planning, 2015).

development (see Maskovsky 2001 for another example). When I say ‘policing’ one another, I am referring specifically to how the neighborhood groups and residents attempt to uphold a commitment to maintaining the *status quo*, even in rezoning cases involving private enterprises by shutting down developments they do not approve of. Through the rezoning subsystem in Crooked Creek, they are able to exercise this way of policing people in order to discourage any new development in the area. More broadly, the rezoning policy subsystem is the primary outlet in the shared framework of the Crooked Creek area (as well as in other neighborhoods) where organizations and stakeholders can regulate the development of the area through opposition to rezoning requests.



Figure 1: Crooked Creek neighborhood as it compares to the City of Indianapolis. (Crooked Creek Quality of Life Plan)

In this thesis, I analyze how larger neoliberal currents have created conflict within the local policy subsystem of rezoning in the Crooked Creek neighborhood in Indianapolis. The Crooked Creek neighborhood is a diverse area including a mix of residential and commercial properties. The Michigan Road Corridor serves as the area’s main artery and it is the geographic focal point of this analysis. As shown in Figure 1, the neighborhood of Crooked Creek covers a vast area of the City of

Indianapolis. Indianapolis is the county seat of Marion County; the city and the county were consolidated in 1970 through an act known as Unigov. Marion County, in turn, is divided into 6 townships. The Crooked Creek Development Corporation covers such a large area that it extends into two townships, Pike Township and Washington Township. Even though a majority of the public forums were held by PTRAs, which is located in Pike Township, the three major case studies I focus on in this thesis occurred within the Washington Township area.

I focus here on three rezoning request cases in the Washington Township area in order to demonstrate the larger implications of neoliberal social policies and to show how I utilized ethnographic methodologies to map out the dynamics of conflict on the ground. I frame this conflict through the Advocacy Coalition Framework (Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith 1993, 1999; Sabatier 2007; Sabatier and Weible 2007)³ in order to map out the relationship between that mandate the devolution of urban planning to neighborhoods, and the growth of local level conflict.

This framework is used to identify the importance of the ground-level analysis as it operates alongside larger neoliberal, macro, organizational, and systemic levels. The Advocacy Coalition Framework (known from this point on as ACF) holistically conceptualizes the dynamics of conflict on the ground. I detail the impact of neoliberal social policies spotlighting the perspectives and rationales as they operate within both the rezoning policy subsystem and the current funding and community development environment in Indianapolis.

1.1 Setting The Scene

Over the past few decades, neoliberalism and the devolution of urban planning to local level organizations has created a situation in cities whereby local organizations often have conflicting viewpoints on community economic development. As an ideology, neoliberalism emphasizes the role of free markets and privatization as the best way to address social problems as opposed to public sector investment and social-service agencies. In general, communities are shaped and influenced by these larger policies,

³ The Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) is a framework of the policy process developed to deal with "wicked" problems those involving substantial goal conflicts, important technical disputes and multiple actors from several levels of government (Hoppe and Petersen 1993).

which have resulted in decreased public funding and have created greater competition among neighborhood organizations for limited resources available in the form of private real estate investment. This ethnography was guided in part by Maskovsky's (2001) article, in which he argues that "by following the process through which grassroots political constituencies appropriate privatist ideological assumptions as an aspect of their civic agency, it is possible to chart how neoliberal hegemony is constituted at the level of the grassroots" (Maskovsky 2001, 218). The devolution of responsibilities for urban planning to the neighborhood level, along with increased reliance on private developers, has made the stakes higher and has therefore increased the intensity of the local conflicts.

In Crooked Creek, the extent to which residents' organizations have taken on the role of policing all activities in the community can be seen as indicative of a shift to a law-and-order state at the level of the grassroots (see Hyatt 2011). The devolution of responsibility and urban planning to the local level and to neighborhood groups has created an environment in which citizens' main tool for fighting off development is opposition to any request for rezoning. In the shared framework of Crooked Creek, this policy subsystem of rezoning is how neighborhood groups police development initiatives. This allocation of power has given these groups the ability to put development on infinite hold. In the following sections I will describe how the exchanges witnessed in the three rezoning cases play out under ACF in order to make the connection between neoliberal social policies and local level conflict.

Within this policy subsystem, there are multiple actors operating at multiple levels of government. Through using the ACF as a framework, I have identified these actors and organizations, which have played a major role in the broader/ macro level ecology of the area. In general, policy subsystems are issue-specific networks where coalitions of actors compete with one another to dominate policymaking in that subsystem. As Sabatier (2007, 192) write, "This specialization occurs within subsystems composed of participants who regularly seek to influence policy within a policy subsystem."

My analysis details the phenomenon of unwritten policies by mapping out the origin and timeline of community development in Indianapolis. My literature review and fieldwork have identified the points of devolution and the prolific influences of larger

neoliberal currents as they play out on the local level through changing models of neighborhood governance. Policies devolving local control of community development began with Mayor Richard Lugar (1986-1976), continued with Mayors Hudnut (1976-1992), Goldsmith (1992-2000), and Peterson (2000-2008), and extending into the ethnographic present of this research with Mayor Greg Ballard (2008-2015). Each one of these Indianapolis mayors has built their agendas and strategies around a set of smaller-government political principles.

At the macro level of analysis, the devolution of urban planning can initially be seen in the policies adopted and implemented by Mayor Hudnut and neighborhood leader Ruth Hayes. It is here that we begin to see how neighborhood groups became state-registered entities and were incorporated into the local community development paradigm in Marion County during the early 1980s. Hayes was President of the Nora Northside Community Council which operated as a state registered neighborhood group. According to my interviews with the Crooked Creek Community Development Corporation (CDC)⁴ and PTR, it was this relationship between Hayes and Mayor Hudnut that served as the catalyst for the devolving of state-level responsibilities such as land-use and zoning, to the local and neighborhood levels.

In a 2014 interview, the then Director of the Crooked Creek Community Development Corporation, Scott Armstrong⁵, explained that the relationship between Ruth Hayes and Hudnut set in motion the ability for neighborhood groups to gain more powers and to take on more responsibility with respect to monitoring local development, in addition to granting them the ability to oppose rezoning requests. This spearheaded the formation of public-private partnerships, utilizing neighborhood groups and other

⁴ Community Development Corporations (CDCs) are nonprofit, community-based organizations focused on revitalizing the areas in which they are located, typically low-income, underserved neighborhoods that have experienced significant disinvestment. While they are most commonly celebrated for developing affordable housing, they are usually involved in a range of initiatives critical to community health such as economic development, sanitation, streetscaping, and neighborhood planning projects, and oftentimes even provide education and social services to neighborhood residents. (www.community-wealth.org)

⁵ Scott Armstrong served as the director of the Crooked Creek Community Development Corporation from 2011-2015 and was involved in the 2012 field study in collaboration with IUPUI. He also participated in multiple semi-structured and structured interviews with me from 2012 to 2014.

grassroots organizations as a ‘bridge’ between the residents and the planning process. Mayor Hudnut and Ruth Hayes, the President of the Nora Community Council had a strong relationship and helped build the foundation from which neighborhood groups have grown in capacity over the years. Hudnut’s successor, Mayor Goldsmith, served as the main catalyst to extend the devolution of urban planning to the local level.

Since 1994, the Indianapolis Neighborhood Resource Center (INRC), initially established by Mayor Goldsmith, has created 80 neighborhood groups. Individuals in neighborhood groups now “...play an active role in the financial management of their community to win zoning cases” (Goldsmith 1999, 3). Hudnut’s initiatives and policies demonstrated the fact that his political principles placed a heavy emphasis on devolving the responsibility of neighborhood development and governance to neighborhoods, which ultimately served to shift the community paradigm from Federal-State-City to Global-Regional-Local (Goldsmith 1999, 4). He placed a heavy emphasis on local control of the ‘quality of life.’ Although Hudnut’s tenure proceeded the emergence of neoliberal social policies, his initiatives and the partnership with Nora Community Council’s president, Ruth Hayes, served as the building blocks for the development of the additional neighborhood partnerships with local government that we see today.

Hudnut’s successor, Stephen Goldsmith carried on this smaller-government, local level responsibility style of politics. According to an article in the Wabash Magazine, *Leading from the Grassroots* (Goldsmith 1998, 2), he built his political career by,

“...adhering to a set of principles called the Benjamin Rogge Ideas. Their initiatives were driven by the idea that small government produces more value because it encouraged residents and community organizations to tell city officials how services should be delivered in their neighborhood.”

However, as we see today, rather than representing the democratization of neighborhood governance, in many cases, these initiatives have placed the power to approve or deny development into the hands of only a few. Based on the principles laid out by Hudnut, the effort to devolve authority to states and cities resulted in more power being shifted from City Hall to dozens of neighborhood-level organizations. (Goldsmith 1998, 3).

This steady devolution of government to the neighborhood level has been highlighted as a main catalyst for the phenomenon of conflict within the Crooked Creek

neighborhood and policy subsystem. The emergence of the devolved social policies led to initiatives such as the 'Front Porch Alliance' (FPA)⁶, the Quality of Life plans⁷, and the Greater Indianapolis Neighborhood Initiative (GINI)⁸. Kennedy (2005, 2) argues that, "...the Indianapolis experiment under Goldsmith has been an attempt to remake government in the image of private business, where competitiveness and the ability to accommodate constant change are necessary." More importantly, "The lesson of the Indianapolis experiments appears to be that such a paradigm operates to diminish social capital, discourage political participation, and seriously undermine the community of trust necessary for effective governance" (Kennedy 2005, 2).

This shift in the community development and funding paradigms meant responsibility of improving community was shifted to the local level. As Terry M. Neal (1999, 1) argues, "Goldsmith's philosophy meshes with Bush's vision of 'compassionate conservatism,' which seeks to take the harsh edge off conservative ideology without straying from basic tenants of smaller government and personal responsibility." These were the kinds of political principles and ideologies instilled by Indianapolis Mayors from Lugar to Hudnut, Peterson to Goldsmith which have directly shaped the current community development paradigm in Crooked Creek. In the city of Indianapolis, policies have been adopted that allow these neighborhood organizations the power to oppose any requests for rezoning decisions.

1.2 Actors

In this thesis, I focused on the views of the two most influential and active participants in the rezoning policy subsystem: one is the local Community Development Corporation (known from this point on as CDC); the other is the perspective of local neighborhood groups, who generally represented themselves as homeowners' associations.

⁶ The Front Porch Alliance (FPA) created by Indianapolis mayor Stephen Goldsmith to encourage religious organizations to improve their neighborhoods.

⁷ The Quality of Life Plans are a part of the Great Indianapolis Neighborhood Initiative (GINI). Plans brought together more than 300 residents in six neighborhoods in 2008 to create quality-of-life plans that are now being implemented.

⁸ Great Indianapolis Neighborhood Initiative (GINI): The Great Indy Neighborhoods Initiative (GINI) was a pilot planning initiative that introduced Quality of Life planning to the city, a grassroots planning concept that is developed and implemented by neighborhoods.

Figure 2 illustrates the various state registered neighborhood groups in the Crooked Creek area. In the area studied, neighborhood groups are in charge of public forums and have the power to put any request for land-use, rezoning, or development on infinite hold. The responsibility for decisions about land usage and rezoning has been devolved from the state and federal levels down to local-level grassroots organizations, which has increased greatly the likelihood that conflicts around these issues will ensue.

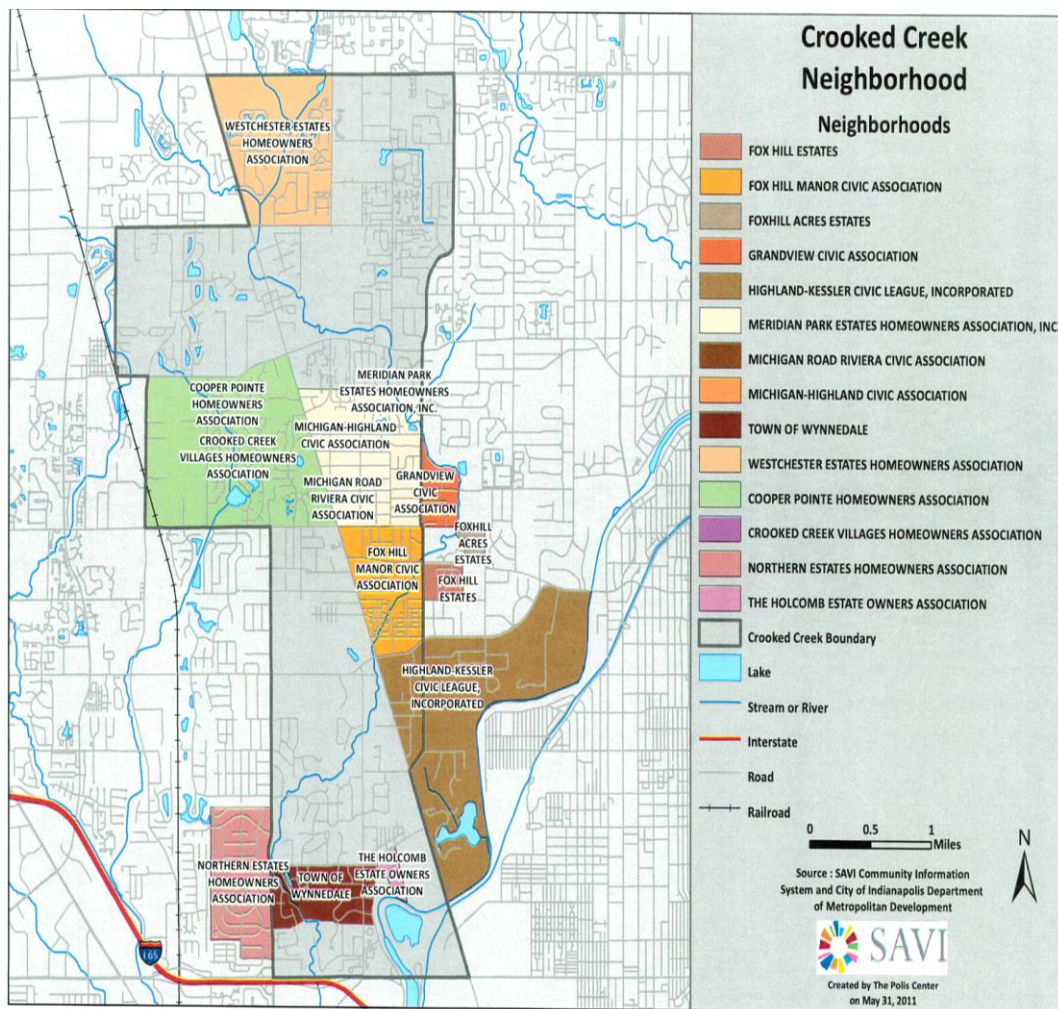
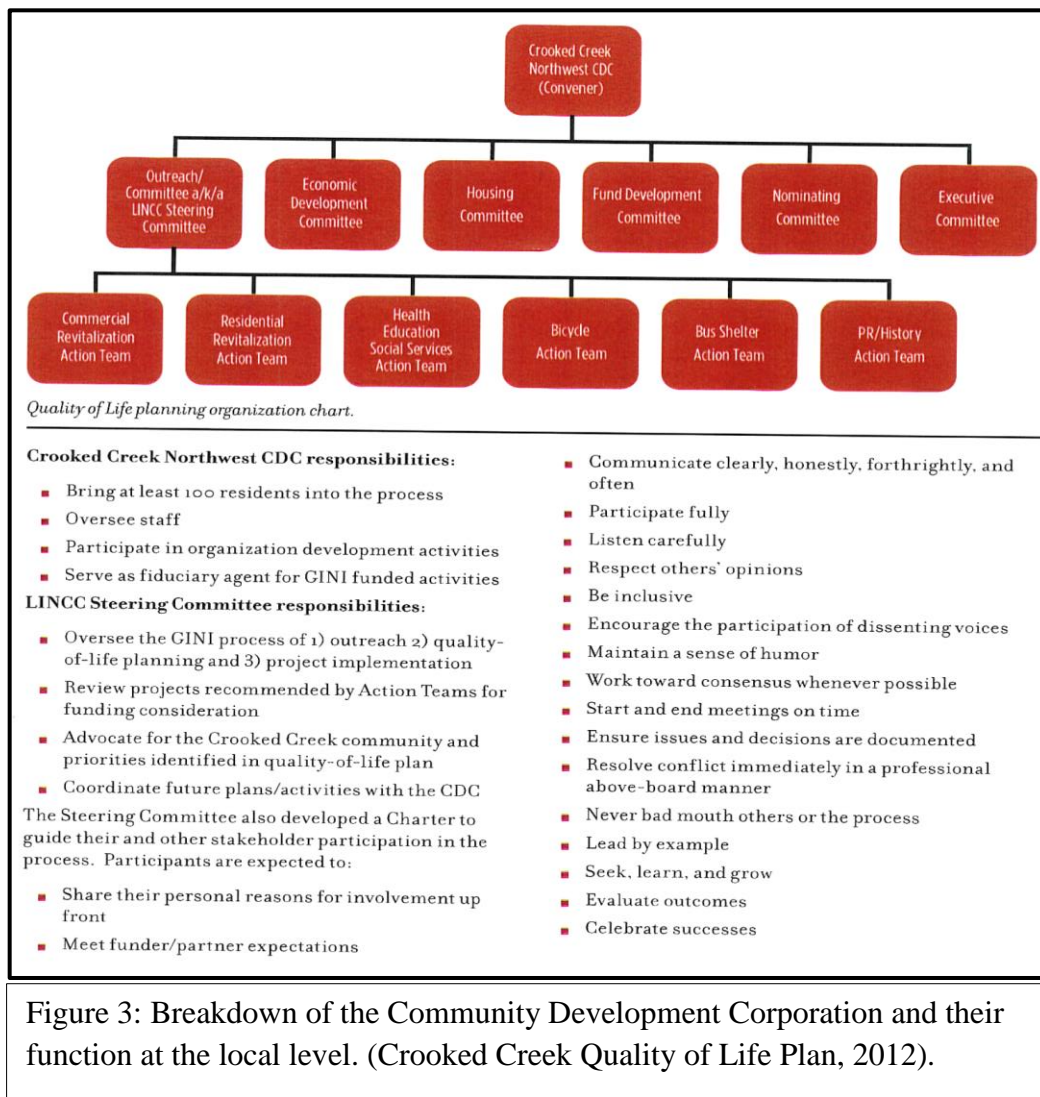


Figure 2: Map of the Crooked Creek Neighborhood broken down into smaller, neighborhood groups or associations. (savi.org)

Under the current funding paradigm in Indianapolis, the CDC is faced with a results-driven template. Figure 3 breaks down the internal structure and funding parameters of the Crooked Creek CDC. Armstrong is faced with the fact that to the Department of Metropolitan Development⁹, “it’s a numbers game; they only care about income and property values and taxes.” This kind of ‘results driven’ environment forced the CDC to prove they deserve funding for their area. CDCs operate on the ground level and focuses specifically on housing and economic



⁹ The Department of Metropolitan Development’s (DMD) primary function of the Current Planning section of the Division of Planning, is support the MDC, BZA, and Hearing Examiner. The Division of Community Development, within the DMD, administers grants made available from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD).

development with a strong social outreach mentality. The CDC focuses on the larger picture of community betterment; yet, their efforts to move prospective businesses, including social service agencies, into the area have been met with opposition. Their mission as a CDC is based on ‘selling the grand design’ of empowerment and engagement, utilizing economic development as a way to alleviate tax burdens for surrounding residents and businesses is their main focus.

Through the vantage point of examining various rezoning cases along Michigan Road, my analysis demonstrates the dynamics of the components on the ground and focuses on the perspectives of state registered neighborhood groups, such as PTRAs, and the local CDC, while also examining the perspectives of local residents, city officials, and departments. Observations made in the field emphasize the connections between larger neoliberal currents and local level dynamics by illustrating how they influence individual experience, perception, rationale and belief systems are played out in the policy subsystem of rezoning.

Chapter Two

Review of The Literature

Over the past few decades, Community Development Corporations have adopted the view that neighborhoods and communities are *defined* by people who share a common commitment, beliefs, or experience (West Indianapolis Development Corporation, Inc., 2009). Chaskin (1997, 536) argues that "...neighborhoods may be recognized, identified, and delineated differently by different individuals, and neighborhoods provide very different contexts for the individuals who reside there." Chaskin (1997, 533) points out, how residents define their neighborhood is a,

"... product of who they are – their social and physical position within urban society...this is true of the dimensions of the neighborhood they are likely to stress, their general perspectives of the size and scope of their neighborhoods, and the way they construct and interpret their particular boundaries.

This speaks to the social and experiential dimensions of the neighborhood as a concept that must be defined by those who live it every day.¹⁰ This theme of defining one's neighborhood was one I consistently witnessed throughout my fieldwork. Whether I was sitting in on a public forum, observing a neighborhood group meeting, or talking one-on-one with residents, they constructed the particular boundaries of what developments they deemed to be acceptable for their neighborhood. This idea of defining one's community cannot be analyzed without understand how the larger currents of neoliberalism and devolution have shaped these ideas.

Neighborhood conflict, as analyzed by Maskovsky (2001, 215), can be best understood as, "...a grassroots expression; a product of neoliberal economic development policies." Hegemony can be conceptualized as a condition of political and cultural consensus, and Maskovsky argues that this has been an outcome of the,

"...retreat from and privatization of the welfare state, and the invocation by the post-welfare state of matching consumers and producers in the private marketplace for goods and service provision.

¹⁰ Chaskin (1997) emphasizes that, "... the tension between local cohesion and diffusion (the relative importance of individuals' connections locally and beyond the local sphere in contemporary urban society – the tension between "horizontal" and "vertical" links...and the multiple ways in which boundaries are defined, there is an issues of different experiences regarding neighborhood activity and connection among different populations and contexts" (536).

This has involved the concomitant conversion of all subjects into either consumers or producers/providers.” (2001, 220).

He continues, “...residents...are increasingly encouraged to purge their ranks of the ‘underserving’ poor in order to make neighborhoods more attractive to private investors.” (Maskovsky 2001, 224). Maskovsky (2001, 217) analyzed two instances of community conflict in Philadelphia as a way to demonstrate that “the real story here lies not in the quality of opposition...but in the larger ideological currents that array such groups against each other in the first place.” This approach to neighborhood research, coupled with the ACF, aggregates these networks of connections into coalitions of actors who share similar normative policy beliefs and complimentary concepts of community while at the same time analyzing them as local units of action.

This focus on the conceptualization of community adds to my examination of normative policy beliefs as they are constructed and maintained by larger systemic and ideological currents such as decreased funding and competition for resources. As Chaskin (1997, 541) recognized,

...there is no universal way of delineating the neighbors as a unit. Rather, neighborhoods must be identified and defined heuristically, guided by specific programmatic aims, informed by a theoretical understanding of neighborhood and a recognition of its complications on the ground.

Through the ACF, organizations active in this policy subsystem can be analyzed as networks of connections.

Based on observations made in the field, the kind of conflicts witnessed on the ground in Crooked Creek echo this post-neoliberal shift towards policing others at the level of the grassroots (Hyatt 2011) by means of controlling community development. According to Chaskin (1997, 523), there is,

...power in the *idea* of the neighborhood, power that comes not from its perception as a sociological construction but from its nuanced complexity as a vernacular term...engaging neighborhoods usefully as spatial units of planning and action would benefit from a better understanding of their nature, dimensions, use, and value.

He placed a heavy emphasis on the problems of boundary definitions, “...understanding neighborhood, including its component elements, scope and uses” (Chaskin 1997, 522).

This approach demonstrated how neighborhoods, grassroots organizations and neighborhood groups operate as a social system and are deeply embedded in the larger neoliberal policy context. Through my observations and research, I identified the points at which conflict arose and what conditions have helped to shape and maintain conflict.

I build on Chaskin's (2003) study on the impact of larger structures on experience, rational, and concept of community (discussed below). I utilized Chaskin's (2003, 65) focus on the "...range of approaches to structuring neighborhood-based decision-making and action in a variety of contexts and provides a spectrum of government structures and relationships interact with local organizations and associations." The larger-scale policies, such as the idea of devolution and the shift from large government to local level governance, were easily visible through the use of ethnographic methods and a public policy framework. Coupled with findings from Maskovsky (2001), Hyatt (2011) and the ACF (Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith 1993, 1999; Sabatier 2007; Sabatier and Weible 2007), Chaskin's ideas about community have enabled me to identify, map out, and navigate grassroots level conflict.

In the shared framework of Crooked Creek, the rezoning policy subsystem is the major outlet where people can voice their opposition. In turn, the devolution of responsibility has allowed for a local way of policing one another through objecting to rezoning requests. Exploration into the range of rationales in the rezoning policy subsystem through the ACF places a large spotlight on this disconnect between the multiple levels of analysis as well as the need for more analytical approaches to understanding grassroots level conflicts and their possible resolution.

Just as Maskovsky (2001) noted, I see devolved social and public policy along with grassroots conflict as a basis for inquiry. My point is not to construct a portrait of the oppositional neighborhood groups as having emerged for nowhere, but rather to map out devolution of social policy as it plays out on the ground. As Judith Goode (2006, 215) has stated, "I do not wish to demean the well-intentioned...I merely want to point out the power of neoliberal common sense to shape and limit people's understandings of problems and possibilities." My analysis emphasizes the importance of understanding the connections between larger neoliberal currents and local level dynamics through an ethnographic study of zoning decisions.

2.1 Advocacy Coalition Framework

I frame this conflict using the ACF (Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith 1993, 1999; Sabatier 2007; Sabatier and Weible 2007) in order to map out the connections between neoliberal social policies and local level conflict witnessed in Crooked Creek. The ACF assumes that policymaking in modern societies is so complex, both substantively and legally, that participants must specialize if they are to have any hope of being influential. “This specialization occurs within policy subsystems composed of participants who regularly seek to influence policy within a policy subsystem...” (Sabatier and Weible 2007, 192).

The ACF describes and explains complex policy environments; it is used to identify policy change, the chain of command (decision-making chain/structures), and who has influence over it. In addition, the ACF analyzes environments that include multiple actors and levels of government that produce decisions despite high levels of ambiguity, and take years to turn decisions into outcomes. It has relatively stable parameters: it calls for researchers to identify the basic attributes of a problem, the basic distribution of neighborhood resources, the fundamental socio-cultural values, and knowledge of the existing social structures.

Its basic foundations rest on a set of micro, meso, and macro level assumptions (Sabatier and Weible 2007). Micro and individual level assumptions relate to a ‘model of the individual’ and bounded rationality and it argues that we all have heuristic/cognitive filter to process information based on belief system consistency:

Bounded Rationality – a term used, by James March and Herbert Simon, describes how decision-makers seek to act as rationally as possible within certain bounds or limits; these limits include limited time, limited information, and our limited human ability to recognize every feature and pattern of every problem (Birkland 2011, 255).

Through the ACF, the basic mechanisms identified are the chain-of-command and decision making structures.

These formal and informal structures serve as lynchpins for understanding the overall dynamics of grassroots level organizations as they operate alongside neoliberal funding regimes and ideologies. Within this policy subsystem, there are multiple actors who operate across multiple levels of government.

“Delimiting the appropriate scope for a subsystem is complicated by the existence of overlapping and nested subsystems...identifying the appropriate scope of a subsystem is one of the most important aspects of an ACF research project” (Sabatier 2007, 93).

The ACF’s individual, meso, and macro levels of analysis connect the larger currents to the conditions in which conflicting views of community are reinforced.

Ultimately, the ACF identifies which coalition of actors share or differ in their policy core beliefs. “The ACF argues that actors perceive the world and process information according to a variety of cognitive biases which provide heuristic guidance in complex situations” (Kubler 2001, 624). More specifically, “In the case of public policies, such guidance is provided by *belief systems* about how a given public problem is structured, and how it should be dealt with.” (Kubler 2001, 624). The ACF assumes the defining characteristic of individuals is their three-tiered hierarchical belief system (Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith 1993, 1999). According to Weible (2006, 99),

On the top tier are deep core beliefs, which are normative/fundamental beliefs that span multiple policy subsystems and are very resistant to change (for example, political conservatism). In the middle tier are policy core beliefs, which are normative/empirical beliefs that span an entire policy subsystem.

This model of the individual “...emphasizes normative beliefs...the difficulty of changing normative beliefs and the tendency of actors to relate to the world through a set of perceptual filters, composed of preexisting beliefs are hard to alter” (Sabatier and Weible 2007, 194). These assumptions suggest that we all have heuristics/cognitive filters to process information based on belief system consistency (Kubler 2001, 624). Coalitions are formed around beliefs; more specifically, they are policy core beliefs, and in order to realize the goals generated by their beliefs, advocacy coalitions try to make governmental institutions behave in accordance with their policy beliefs (Kubler 2001).

The framework aggregates networks of connections into coalitions of actors with similar normative policy beliefs and complementary concepts of community while analyzing them as local units of action. Through the vantage point of opposition in rezoning cases, the ACF maps out the belief systems and analyzed the conditions across each coalition’s involvement. Individuals filter the world around them (i.e.

threats, opportunities) based on their personal belief system consistency. They seek to form coalitions with other actors who align with that belief system and worldview.

Within the scope of this analysis, I wanted to illustrate how actors' rationales and belief systems translate into policy. "A macro-level assumption... within a policy subsystem... [is that] behavior is affected by factors in the broader political and socioeconomic system" (Sabatier 2007, 191). My historical review of the devolved social policies and larger neoliberal currents demonstrates the importance of mapping out how rationales are shaped and reinforced on an individual, organizational, situational and systemic level.

I believe that in order to understand the connection between larger neoliberal currents and local level conflict, any analysis must demonstrate the dynamics at both the micro and individual level, including such factors as experience, belief systems and rationales. Because of this, I placed a heavy emphasis on the ground level analysis by incorporating ideas of community by Chaskin (1997, 2003, 2008 and 2012) as well as ideas of experience, rationale and belief systems as demonstrated through the ACF. Being able to map out and analyze these individual experiences and perspectives about community development has enabled me to better analyze how devolution and larger neoliberal currents have resulted in an oppositional relationship between the Crooked Creek CDC and local neighborhood groups.

The meso level assumptions suggest the best way to deal with the multiplicity of actors in a subsystem is to aggregate them into advocacy coalitions around shared beliefs. The macro level assumptions relate to the broader policymaking space within policy action occurs, which is bound geographically and by substance. The substance dimension relates to policy focus (e.g., education, health, community development, etc.). The ACF also recognizes and stresses that policy influence requires specialization and occurs in overlapping and nested policy subsystems.

The basic mechanism in my framework is to identify the chain of command (decision-making chain/structures) and identify who has influence over it. Specifically, I was able to analyze an environment that included multiple actors and levels of government that produce decisions despite high levels of ambiguity. Through the ACF, data collected in the field identifies the various chains of command,

internal structures, and vested interests in all three rezoning cases, and illustrates how this subsystem and the zoning conflicts can turn toward understanding how local people end up policing one another.

This analysis of Crooked Creek demonstrates that the varying concepts of community are shaped and reinforced by larger neoliberal currents. More importantly, this devolution of power and the shift towards neighborhood governance has turned into a local way of policing one another through the policy subsystem of rezoning. The purpose of my framework is to identify how individuals behave and rationalize the world around them. I will discuss later the importance of individual experience including how belief systems and rationale play an integral role in the dynamics of conflict at the local level. In the following section, I will lay out the findings from each one of the three rezoning request cases before I break down my methodology and data collection instruments.

Chapter Three

Methodology

As I stated earlier, this thesis is an extension of fieldwork I completed in the Crooked Creek area from 2012 to 2014. Fieldwork conducted in 2012 was done as part of a collaborative fieldwork class undertaken by IUPUI's Department of Anthropology in collaboration with the Crooked Creek CDC. This immersive project included collecting ethnographic data and conducting interviews with residents, business owners, developers, non-profits and city level organizations. Fieldwork data included photos, interviews, guest speakers, archival research, participant observation, and surveys. This 2012 field study became the beginning of my two-year ethnography in Crooked Creek.

Methodology included participant observations, informal and open-ended interviews, thematic coding and archival research. Subjects included city and state level public officials, elected and appointed officials as well as neighborhood group board members and other grassroots level organizations. I conducted multiple open-ended interviews with the director of the Crooked Creek CDC, Scott Armstrong, as well as with various Crooked Creek business owners and homeowners, as well as with neighborhood group board members and zoning consultants. Altogether, I conducted over 40 open-ended interviews with residents, neighborhood group board members, local business owners, and stakeholders, and community leaders between 2012-2014.

I utilized mapping technologies including GIS¹¹ and Mapper¹², which are tools that allow users to create interactive queries (user-created searches), analyze spatial information, edit data in maps, and present the results of all these operations. GIS enables users to visualize, question, analyze, and interpret data to understand relationships, patterns, and trends. (www.polis.iupui.edu). In all three of the rezoning request cases, I employed the use of GIS mapping techniques as way to understand how the neighborhood residents and stakeholders in Crooked Creek mapped out the area's assets.

¹¹ GIS: In a general sense, the term describes any information system that integrates, stores, edits, analyzes, shares, and displays geographic information. GIS applications are tools that allow users to create interactive queries (user-created searches), analyze spatial information, edit data in maps, and present the results of all these operations. GIS allows users to visualize, question, analyze, and interpret data to understand relationships, patterns, and trends. (www.polis.iupui.edu)

¹² Mapper a technology developed by Vertices, is a web-based interface that uses interactive mapping to visually display locations (www.mappler.net).

For example, I had residents identify assets, including their banking institutions, organizations, services, individuals, and businesses in their area. This enabled me to highlight how the individuals involved in the rezoning policy subsystem view and define the area's potential, shortcomings, and marketability.

In addition to participant observation at public forums and the use of GIS, I recorded, transcribed, synthesized, and thematically coded data across all the individual and micro, meso, and macro levels of analysis. I utilized these open forums as a way to connect with some of the participating community members. Even though a majority of my interactions were done at public forums, I also utilized informal door-to-door canvassing in the areas surrounding each rezoning request.

The primary actors in this policy subsystem were the Crooked Creek Community Development Corporation (CDC), state-registered neighborhood groups, the Indianapolis Board of Zoning Appeals (BZA), the Hearing Examiner¹³, the Metropolitan Development Commission (MDC), potential developers, and zoning consultants¹⁴. The scope of this analysis limits my analysis; the BZA, MDC, and the hearing examiner were important, but they are not focal points of this study. These departments operate under a different, system of the city's governmental entities.

These data collection instruments allowed me to examine basic geographic and demographic characteristics of the area alongside social and political landscapes as they were identified by the residents and stakeholders of the area. The main focus of my analysis explored how neighborhood group board members interpreted the area's challenges and their vision of how the area should be developing. Each interview, interaction, and recorded observation was transcribed using thematic coding as demonstrated by Willow Roberts Powers (2005). This process of coding qualitative data and themes witnessed out in the field identifies patterns in the reoccurring theme of

¹³ The Hearing Examiner is an individual designated by the MDC to conduct hearings. The Examiner is a contract employee who conducts hearings for rezoning petitions, companion variance or special exception petitions, approval petitions, and all other companion petitions. (Indy.gov/division of planning, 2015).

¹⁴ Zoning consultants are hired by either potential developers or neighborhood residents and their main role is to serve as the voice and negotiator. Zoning consultants are typically hired because their role and/or capacity can get around red tape. Most zoning consultants are lawyers, however, it is not required to for a consultant to be a licensed attorney. Because of this, consultants are bound by the same rule of standards that attorneys are.

conflict. This approach enabled me to identify the various actors, venues, internal structures, and resources which, in turn, allowed for a better understanding on how to navigate the explosive components of conflict in the Crooked Creek rezoning policy subsystem.

Chapter Four Case Studies

4.1 Case 1: 5763 Michigan Road, Indianapolis, IN 46208

Along Michigan Road, there sits an abandoned house placed between a Pizza Hut and a church. A not-for-profit wanted to move into this abandoned space next to a funeral home and a church in order to provide an elderly day care center. This organization would only be open during daylight hours and was projected not to create any problematic traffic patterns. However, the neighborhood groups in the area had a negative outlook on all new development, social service agencies in particular.



Figure 4: Elder Daycare Center. 5763 Michigan Road, Indianapolis, IN 26228

Case 1, as seen in Figure 4, is an elderly day care center, and

highlights the varying rationales and conceptualizations of the term “community” between the two major players in the rezoning policy subsystem: the CDC and the neighborhood groups. In an interview I conducted in 2013 with Scott Armstrong, the director of the Crooked Creek CDC, this potential move-in would have been, “modeled after something like Joy’s House in Broad Ripple. Great use for it, you know...Daylight hours only, not going to develop any kind of weird traffic patterns...This is not a house you want to raise a family in, you know the speed limit outside of your front door is 45MPH and it’s a four-lane highway, you know it’s perfect use for the adult daycare.” However, past differences and other conflicts essentially tainted this rezoning request.

During a phone interview in 2015, a zoning consultant explained how the situation came about, stating that, "... ultimately, the new not-for-profit used the same zoning consultant as the funeral home did before them, therefore, the neighborhood group said they were more interested in teaching this particular zoning consultant a lesson more than anything else." He stated that, "...their true reason was that the funeral home operated as a church over parks their parking area and parks on the neighborhood streets behind, and these streets are all very tiny and narrow and they feel burdened by this church, and this church used the same zoning assistant as the new not-for-profit did..." According to other observations made in the field, the neighborhood group was determined to fight off this potential new development because they were unable to do anything about the church.

The zoning consultant also stated, "It really was a two-part opposition. The first being that the neighborhood group was upset over the last rezoning attempt...and part two, ultimately, since they were unable to oppose the church/funeral home, they decided to take it out on the potential move in." He continued by saying, "The second part of that being, and perhaps speaking to the broader scope of things in that area, they were dead set on spreading the narrative that any social-service type organization would lead to a downfall in property values."

The potential developer was eventually denied his request to rezone this old house. Armstrong witnessed a wide range of conflicting interests surrounding this request and also argued that the neighborhood groups had used their devolved power to do what he called, "bully[ing] the policy process." Through various interactions and structured interviews, I found out that this neighborhood group had a track record of conflicts with the neighboring church, which sat two parcels down from the 5763 property. Themes extracted from interviews and fieldwork using thematic analysis¹⁵ and coding (discussed below) clearly demonstrated conflict as the major theme. According to my interactions with a local community stakeholder, Jose, "...the church had been over-parking on the residential streets behind these buildings, since the neighborhood group was unable to do

¹⁵ Thematic analysis is the process for coding qualitative data. The themes are patterns found in the information that organizes and describes observations and enables the interpretations of aspects and dynamics of belief system consistency and rationale.

anything about this issue, they decided to go up against and oppose this potential non-profit move in as a means of spite.”

It is the CDC’s responsibility to attract new businesses and non-profits that will provide additional resources for the neighborhood. This is where I was able to see how the difference in policy beliefs played out on the ground level. This elder day care could have been a great community service in the context of a holistic development plan. However, this view of the positive role played by non-profits and social-service agencies in the area is strongly disputed by neighborhood groups. As in Maskovsky’s (2001) analysis, a majority of homeowners in Crooked Creek also viewed social-service agencies as indicative of a neighborhood’s downward economic spiral, suggesting to them that the area would then become unattractive to private developers.

4.2 Case 2: 5555 Michigan Road, Indianapolis, IN 46208

In this case, an old Masonic Lodge sat on roughly 22 acres of land, and based on data collected through interviews and participant observations at public forums, this rezoning request was quite controversial. Figure 5 depicts the land that potential developer Douglas McCully Realities bought; they then spent over a year putting a deal together to get a regional grocery store, Kroger, to move into an area that lacks a full-service supermarket. Crooked Creek is already largely developed and because of this, any land parcels that are vacant and contain what Armstrong and other major city actors have called “Washington Township¹⁶ dirt” is seen as being extremely valuable. This private developer wanted to get the old Masonic lodge rezoned in order to build a full service grocery store and a small strip center consisting of three or four parcels.

This case of the supermarket is rather complex and sheds light on the larger implications of these conflicting views and competing interests on the overall development of the area. This kind of opposition and conflict demonstrates the larger implications of devolving social policies within various subsystems of grassroots and neighborhood level organizations. When this deal to open the first full-service supermarket was brought to the table, the neighborhood groups opposed the rezoning of the land because of the potential of excessive light in the four homes across the street.

¹⁶ The Crooked Creek CDC covers a massive area, which includes multiple townships such as Washington and Pike townships.

Douglas Realities said they would build mounds and do whatever else to keep the light from being intrusive. A year and half later, after countless rounds of negotiations, the neighborhood organization and the private developer laid out the parameters. McCully was then able to go to the Board of Zoning Appeals (BZA) and gets the area rezoned based on all of the laid out specifications.

In the end, the developer got the parcel rezoned but as soon as this happened, Douglas Realities sold the land to Walmart for their 'neighborhood market chain' because, Kroger had grown tired of waiting and had backed out of the deal. According to information gathered through participant observations at public forums and interviews with various developers in the area, this sudden



Figure 5: Walmart. 5555 Michigan Road, Indianapolis, IN 46208

change came as a result of two years of conflict during which Kroger had repeatedly attempted to negotiate with this neighborhood group. This rezoning case demonstrates that even if a potential developer has the resources and time to fight a lengthily rezoning battle, the overall process tends to impede development because it drags on for so long. More often than not, smaller businesses simply have to back out and look elsewhere to develop. This example shows that unlike the examples Maskovsky (2001) analyzed, local residents used their power in re-zoning battles to fight against not just social service agencies but also to block commercial enterprises that many would have thought would

serve the community's interests. There was a distinct commitment to maintaining the *status quo* even in cases involving private enterprises.

4.3 Case 3: 6130 Michigan Road, Indianapolis, IN 46228

As depicted in Figure 6, Case number 3, John P. Craine House, Inc., involves a conflict with an organization that provides alternative sentencing for women who have been convicted of non-violent crimes and who have less than five years to serve. Craine House, Inc. presented plans to develop an abandoned nursing home that sits right across Michigan Road from St. Monica's Catholic School into a community-based, work-release facility for such women. These residents would be under constant supervision and if they had children who were under the age of 5, they could live with their mothers at this

facility thereby preserving the mother-child bond. At that time, Craine House was located in another neighborhood in the city, and was seeking to expand to a larger facility. My data showed one of the main oppositions to this development revolved around how the neighborhood viewed the women

who would be living at Craine House.

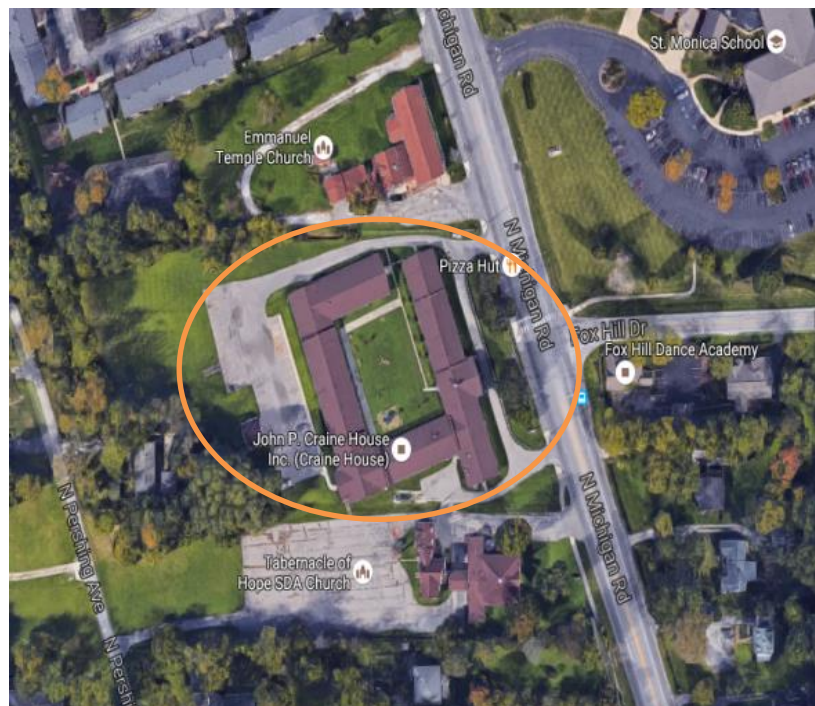


Figure 6: Craine House. 6130 Michigan Road, Indianapolis, IN 46228

Based on data gathered from interviews with various zoning consultants and with Scott Armstrong, and drawing on my observations of interactions at public forums, I found there to be a specific set of conflicting views throughout Case 3 regarding Craine House. Just as with Case 1, the neighborhood group organized strong opposition against non-profits or other social-service organizations moving into the area. As Armstrong

stated in a 2012 interview, “Michigan Road has all, in almost all cases except for the old, really old big historical house, gone to commercial uses, like insurance offices and stuff like that.” This observation illustrates the shift from the area’s once wide open, farm homes, to having become a largely commercial corridor.

However, with incorporation into the city, the population in the area has increased substantially in the past few decades. Another theme that remained constant throughout fieldwork was the current funding and community development policies the CDC operates under and alongside. As I discussed earlier, the CDC focuses on the big picture and actively attempts to attract new and beneficial businesses and tenants to the area. Armstrong told me that, “our argument of that was the other use of the empty building was being used as a crack house.... under Craine House’s operations, there would be guards...and then in general, and we take an even wider view in that this program is incredibly important to our city as a whole and it has to be somewhere and if we just join the crowd that just keeps saying not here, then it won’t be anywhere.”

As I will discuss later, these neighborhood groups can be seen to operate on a more meso level than on a macro one. This illustrates how neighborhood groups are made up of people who are brought together by shared policy beliefs and conceptualizations of community. This case also demonstrates how both the CDC and the homeowners’ groups espoused views that were shaped by the larger policy environment and that, as Maskovsky (2001) suggests, the ways that neoliberal policies play out on the local level exacerbates the potential for conflict. This directly influences how they structure their decision-making processes as well as how they actively invest in turning normative beliefs into policy positions.

The data I collected demonstrated the conceptualization of community and quality of life as the biggest issues. As Armstrong argued, “to an extent but not really, you know the whole concept of us being guided by this improving ‘quality of life’ is so broad that... a reasonable person could make the argument that establishing a reentry facility for women didn’t improve the quality of life for anyone up here. You know, that is probably a reasonable argument to make you know where the emphasis is on improving quality of life for the neighbors, right?” But the CDC strongly supported the establishment of

Craine House based on the fact that it would serve the interests of the entire city and would be a positive re-use of an abandoned building.

Armstrong deplored the “not in my backyard” (NIMBY) mentality that took hold when it came to opposing non-profits, social-service agencies, or in the case of Crooked Creek, any kind of development, even commercial development. More often than not, those I interacted with were in support of social-service agencies, as long as they weren’t in their neighborhood. This stemmed from a fear that the presence of social-service agencies would decrease the potential of their neighborhood for development. Just as in Case 1, this rezoning request case demonstrates the conflicting perspectives towards the development of social service agencies. But even more than that, the neighborhood groups have tried to oppose almost any kind of development in the area, even that sponsored by private developers.

In all three rezoning cases, the themes of conflict, the NIMBY perspective particularly with respect to social service agencies, and neighborhood marketability were all identified during my interactions at public forums and informal interviews. Just as seen in Maskovsky’s article (2001), the neighborhood groups in Crooked Creek also viewed non-profits and other social-service organizations as a direct threat to their property values as well as challenging their conceptualizations about what they thought their community should look like. As I stated earlier, Case 2 shows that unlike the examples Maskovsky (2001) analyzed, local residents used their power in re-zoning battles to fight against not just social service agencies but also commercial enterprises that many would have thought would serve the community’s interests.

Chapter Five

Why Rezoning Is a Site of Conflict

So, why rezoning? How can the conflicts witnessed in these three rezoning cases speak to the broader implications of neoliberal social policies on community development? Based on broader ecology examined during fieldwork, I suggest the rezoning policy subsystem is the main site and catalyst in the production of local conflict. According to my interactions with various business owners and community stakeholders, the policy subsystem of rezoning is only outlet in the shared framework of Crooked Creek that allows people to oppose and voice their opinions. The conflicts witnessed in rezoning cases speak to the broader implications of devolution of neighborhood development to the level of the grassroots.

Maskovsky demonstrated how residents in two Philadelphia neighborhoods believed that the presence of social-service agencies would impede private investment. Specifically, they thought that a, "...concentration of these agencies signaled poverty not progress" (Maskovsky 2001, 219). Based on interviews and observations made in Crooked Creek, the neighborhood group not only saw these social-service agencies as a signal of the neighborhood's downward spiral, but they also believed that just about any development along the Michigan Road Corridor would ultimately serve to decrease their property values.

Even though Maskovsky's argument does not apply to all three cases, this analysis still argues the point that zoning is an area where people feel they can intervene in local decisions and that in this particular community in Indianapolis, people were afraid of any kind of new development, even when it seemed as though it would benefit the community. In Case 2, the Kroger would have been preferable to the Wal-Mart neighborhood market, but people ended up thwarting their own best interests through their opposition.

The neighborhood group's opposition towards non-profits or other social service organizations moving into the area was identified as a major theme that can be easily identified throughout data collected. According to the former director of the Crooked Creek CDC, any kind of development, especially social service agencies, are viewed negatively by neighborhood groups. Even though residents were supportive of the CDC

as a whole, they put up a fight against it and the potential development it was trying to attract in order to achieve what they saw as “preserving” the area. Throughout my interactions with various neighborhood residents and business owners, development along Michigan Road was almost spoken about as if it were taboo.

More importantly, my data demonstrated the ways in which these organizations operate within fragmented power systems.

In order to serve counter-hegemonic process of grassroots resistance and transformation, these meanings [of participation] desperately need to be recovered...rearticulated within the broader processes of social and political struggle in order to facilitate the recovery of social transformation in the world of 21st century capitalism (Leal 2007,539).

By utilizing rezoning cases and land-use as a vantage point, my observations and data demonstrates how this social transformation is echoed by the Crooked Creek neighborhood groups in their “not in my backyard” mentality when it comes to development in the area, especially when it came to the development of social service agencies.

Based on the ACF, individuals in coalitions strive to translate the components of their belief system into actual policy or action. Therefore, aggregating actors into coalitions is the best way to conceptualize individual's behavior and rationales. According to an informal interview I conducted at a local coffee shop with a neighborhood group board member,

“We like to see and partner with others who share in our way of thinking about Crooked Creek...we have all been here for decades, seen this place go from farm land to major throughway...we see all of these ridiculous developments going in and so we do what we can to stop any that don't fit the Crooked Creek standard...”

This kind of local way in which neighborhood groups police development demonstrates the relationship between the larger scale policies like neoliberalism and conflict as it plays out on the ground level. Throughout my observations at public forums, one-on-one interviews with stakeholders and grassroots organization, the conflicts witnessed in the three rezoning cases demonstrate how this shift from government to governance and neoliberal social polices plays out the grassroots level.

As I discussed earlier, this new way of policing one another is indicative of a shift towards a more authoritarian law-and-order state (Hyatt 2011) at the grassroots level. While analyzing data collected in the field, I was reminded of the postulates laid out by E. Wolf (1982, 4):

To disassemble manifold or totality into bit without reassembling leads to false reality...after dismantling these bundles of relationships for analysis, we must place them back into the larger picture for comparative analysis.”

The dynamics of conflict that I analyzed by using the ACF spotlights these bundles of relationships based on policy beliefs as well as smaller government principals as they operate under the larger funding paradigm.

Hudnut and Goldsmith’s smaller government principles for the city of Indianapolis were implemented by empowering umbrella organizations [neighborhood groups] to take an active role in governance at the grassroots level. Hudnut (1995, 45) argued these groups were in the best position to “serve as a broker, a facilitator, and a deal-maker.” The CDC and the neighborhood groups operated under two completely separate ideas of what constitutes community and community betterment, which enables this conflict to occur. The neighborhood group opposition against non-profits or other social-service agencies has also served as a major theme in my analysis.

The processes witnessed in the rezoning requests served as a main obstacle for the CDC and potential developers in the Crooked Creek area. These potential developers have to hire a lawyer, or a zoning consultant to argue on their behalf of the rezoning request. Lawyers for neighborhood groups specialize in a myriad of stalling techniques and since potential developers don’t always have the time or the money to go into a lengthy battle, they simply choose another location for development outside of the Crooked Creek area. I spoke briefly with a BZA member who requested to remain anonymous, however, this BZA member did disclose that, “...when neighborhood groups get loud, the board (the BZA) tends to not want to deal with these conflicts so, 9 times out of 10, we side with the neighborhood groups.”

In his position as the director of the Crooked Creek CDC, Armstrong says neighborhood group's power to oppose any and all request for rezoning and development is the biggest obstacle in the rezoning process. He argues, that “this devolution of urban

planning has enabled a handful of loud residents to ‘bully the policy process.’” I was able to confirm this statement through my observations at public forums and neighborhood group meetings. Since the neighborhood groups do not need empirical data to support their oppositions, they can blindly oppose any request and have the ability to put that request on indefinite hold. According to Armstrong, the only way to work in this Crooked Creek context is to accept these obstacles as a fact of life; and therefore, the CDC has had to alter their initiatives for sustainable growth in the area.

The ACF demonstrates how the theory of social construction¹⁷ focuses on two specific elements: how are individuals constructed, and how are those views reinforced. The ACF’s ‘model of the individual,’ rational actor models, and bounded rationale actor models enabled me to better demonstrate the importance of individual conceptualizations of community in research approaches. This identifies how preexisting beliefs constitute a lens through which actors see the world and how individuals are constructed to resist change.

This set the backdrop from which to focus on embedded relationships and autonomous relations as a way to link the micro and individual to the macro and broader scope. Chaskin’s (2003) analysis into neighborhood group shifts the focus from the role of particular neighborhood organizations and associations to the broader ecology of organizations at the neighborhood level that may play a role in neighborhood governance. He also explores how neighborhood governance operates in each context (2003, 162). Chaskin (2003, 163) argues that this kind of analysis,

...call[s] attentions to, define, and provide and analysis of the broader ecology of organizations and processes that constitute neighborhood governance systems – to synthesize and make explicit the systematic nature of such relations – across different cities, and to provide a

¹⁷ The theory of social construction and policy design was developed to better understand why public policies sometimes fail to meet their purposes of solving public problems, supporting democratic institutions, or producing greater equality of citizenship (Ingram et al., 2007, p. 93). To that end, the theory focuses on the socially constructed values applied to target populations and knowledge, and the consequent impact these values have on people and democracy... Socially constructed knowledge, in this sense, is associated with certain types of policy designs, and these policy designs subsequently institute and reinforce socially constructed knowledge (Pierce et al, 2014).

framework for considering how these patterns may play out in particular (other) contexts.

Chaskin (2003, 166) also illustrates the interconnected dynamics between local level organizations and the larger surrounding systems:

Formalized system of neighborhood organizations... these offices are the direct, day-to-day link between the neighborhood and city hall and are seen as official representatives of neighborhood interests, especially for planning and zoning issues.

He argues that, "...research must shift focus from the role of particular neighborhood organizations and associations to the broader ecology of organizations at the neighborhood level that may play a role in neighborhood governance" (Chaskin 2003, 163). This demonstrates how these systems have a direct impact on how communities are shaped and how these relationships operate on the ground.

Under the ACF, these constructs are used to examine the relations and dynamics between components through a variety of filters.

The ACF identifies eleven categories of policy core beliefs, including perceptions of the severity and causes of subsystem-wide problems, orientation on basic value priorities directly related to the policy subsystem, the effectiveness of policy instruments, and the proper distribution of authority between the market and government (Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith 1999, 133).

According to Weible (2006, 99), "Policy core beliefs are still resistant to change but are more pliable than deep core beliefs. On the bottom tier are secondary beliefs, which are empirical beliefs that relate to a subcomponent (either substantively or territorially) of a policy subsystem."

Data collected demonstrates that local units of actions in the context of a political economy provide a backdrop for the community-as-social-system framework.¹⁸

This idea of neighborhood is based on a particular understanding of the meaning and use of neighborhood as defined by residents, local

¹⁸ "Analysis ultimately uses the following as guidelines for the examination of community: (1) the problems of neighborhood delineation; (2) the nature of neighborhood as open systems; (3) the relationship between neighborhoods and interpersonal networks; and (4) the ways in which neighborhoods are experienced and used differently by different populations" (Chaskin 1997:539).

organizations, government officials, and actors in the private sector (Chaskin 1997, 541).

Informed by this insight, I used the micro and individual levels of the ACF to analyze how residents defined and conceptualized their neighborhoods and to understand how this was a product of their physical and social positioning within the Crooked Creek area.

Understanding the dynamics of an organization's internal structures and processes has proven to be vital for understanding organizational rationale as well as for identifying how normative beliefs and larger ideological currents influences the construction and maintenance of these structures and decision-making processes. Observations and interactions with residents and stakeholders enabled me to conceptualize identity, meaning, and one's ability to adapt. In the context of leadership within neighborhood groups, understanding meaning, identity, and perceptions are crucial to understanding how their ideas about community guides the decision-making processes and structures.

This demonstrates the interconnectedness of group identity and social constructs of political identity and normative beliefs. Observations made in the field demonstrated a strong influence of this shift from government to governance and a local way of policing people. The internal dynamics of neighborhood groups highlights how, over time, the devolved social policies dating back to the Hudnut era enabled a small handful of individuals to police development in the Crooked Creek area.

My observations made in the field have shown that the main tool utilized by neighborhood groups for fighting off development is opposition to any request for rezoning. The main catalyst for this conflict lies in the devolved power and unwritten policy, and detailing the various dynamic of these cases can shed some light on how community developers can navigate future conflict. "Local governing organizations operate jointly to produce a complex web of interactions in all urban areas" (Hudnut 1995, 153). The historical record, along with data I collected in the field, spotlight how devolved policies have proliferated over the years and have created conflicting ideas of community.

Examination into the rationale behind the governance of neighborhood groups has the potential to shed some light on how residents have conceptualized the idea of community and how they define potential threats. Exploring the range of rationales

behind the oppositions in the rezoning request cases demonstrates how the devolution of urban planning has enabled neighborhood groups to control the policy process. This devolution of power has enabled the neighborhood groups to police one another as well as to influence the overall land use and development of the Crooked Creek area.

The ACF demonstrates how to dissect the conflicting ideologies within the policy subsystem of rezoning in Crooked Creek. These interest groups are recognized informal systems of social pressures with the ability to influence perceptions. Chaskin's (2003, 164) analysis of neighborhood group structures stresses that this analysis is largely phenomenological – that is, based on the ways in which actors within the system in each city interpret its structure and assess its functioning. This analysis highlights how researchers tend to miss the moving parts of grassroots conflict as it operates within the larger neoliberal context.

I believe through this ethnographic lens, the dynamics of these on-the-ground-components can be understood as they operate alongside other political, social and economic landscapes. As Paley (2002, 469) writes,

An anthropologist's ethnographic method, their relationship with people outside of formal and elite political institutions, and their attention to alternative worldviews have led them to look beyond official political transactions to the local meanings, circulating discourses, multiple contestations, and changing forms.

According to Fischer (2003, 23), "there are practical lessons [to be learned] from these concrete experiences." Data illustrates how devolved social policies and larger scale policies have led to understanding the emergence of conflicting views through the ethnographic study of zoning outcomes.

Chapter Six

Conclusions

Communities are currently being shaped and influenced by larger neoliberal social policies, which has resulted in decreased funding from public sources, which therefore creates greater competition among neighborhood organizations for limited resources. This ethnographic study of zoning decisions identified and dissected external pressures which created conflicting views within local policy subsystems, and emphasized the importance of understanding the connections between larger neoliberal currents and local level dynamics. Observations made during my fieldwork in Crooked Creek demonstrated that varying concepts of community are shaped and reinforced by these larger currents. The shift toward neighborhood governance through the policy subsystem of rezoning led to the emergence of mechanisms that encouraged local people to police all instances of development in their community.

Devolution and the shift from government to neighborhood governance, as seen through the vantage point of three separate rezoning cases demonstrates the dynamics of conflict on the ground as they are experienced by two influential organizations, the Crooked Creek CDC and state registered neighborhood groups. Both social service agencies and commercial enterprises were viewed as threats to property values in Crooked Creek and were portrayed as compromising the quality of life in their community.

Through observing interactions at public forums, I was able to map out the phenomenon of conflict from Mayor Hudnut to Ruth Hayes to the current environment. The long-term implications of these unwritten social policies set in place by Hudnut can be seen today in the only outlet for protest of the shared framework of Crooked Creek; the rezoning policy subsystem. As Kennedy (2005, 7) also argues, by 1991, Indianapolis had evolved into an “interest group” culture of politics. Based on my observations, Crooked Creek neighborhood groups not only operate as interest groups, but they also align themselves with others who share their policy core beliefs and preferences.

The focus on the devolution of urban planning and policy to local level organizations demonstrates how the ACF, coupled with ethnographic methods, can be used in tandem to better define the parameters of conflict navigation at the grassroots

level. Ultimately, identifying how these devolved policies have led to a wide range of issues and conflicting ideas, data collected demonstrates the larger implications of conflicting goals and visions on Crooked Creek's community development. Through utilizing the ACF, my analysis identified and linked the dynamics between actors, their capacities, policy beliefs, discourses, resources, strategies, venues, the various chains of command, internal structures and vested interests. By employing qualitative methods to map out the conditions and dynamics that have shaped and reinforced conflicts demonstrated how ethnography can help inform local policy-makers on the larger implications of this unwritten policy.

Appendices

Appendix A:

Interviews Conducted (2011-2015)

Zoning consultant, anonymous, phone interview (January 2015)

Zoning consultant, R. Brown, email correspondence (January 2015)

Sue Hyatt and Scott Armstrong, Crooked Creek CDC, 7003B N. Michigan Rd. (February 27, 2014)

Heather Coates, IUPUI (April 13, 2014)

Helen Jackson, neighborhood liaison, Crooked Creek CDC, 7003B N. Michigan Rd. (February 27, 2014)

Scott Armstrong, Crooked Creek CDC, 7003B N. Michigan Rd. (May 21, 2013)

Scott Armstrong, Crooked Creek CDC, 7003B N. Michigan Rd. (September 5, 2013)

Saba Siddiki, IUPUI (September 30, 2013)

Jeanette Putnam-Dickerson, IUPUI (September 30, 2013)

Scott Armstrong, Executive Director, Crooked Creek Community Development Corporation. (January 20, 2012 – February 17, 2012)

Susan Hyatt, Professor Anthropology IUPUI (January 20, 2012 –February 24, 2012)

Carrie Gaffney, Crooked Creek Community Development Center. (January 27, 2012 – February 24, 2012)

Melissa Benton, John H. Boner Community Center. (January 27, 2012)

Anonymous, Crooked Creek Resident, interview at Starbucks on 5015 East 56th St. (January 27, 2012)

Joe Bowling, Legacy Community Builder, John H. Boner Community Center. (January 27, 2012)

Anonymous, Crooked Creek Resident, informal interview at Starbucks on 5015 East 56th St. (January 27, 2012)

Myra, Crooked Creek Resident, informal interview at Starbucks on 5015 East 56th Street. (January 27, 2012)

Bill Taft, Chair, Local Advisory Committee, Local Initiatives Support Corporation. (February 3, 2012)

Andy Fraizer, Executive Director, Indiana Association for Community Economic Development. (February 10, 2012)

Manager, Jose, El Gigante Supermercado, 2720 West 71st St. (February 10, 2012)

Employee, Empire Refractory Services 7705 North Michigan Road (February 17, 2012)

Owner, Elson's Lawn Care 7675 North Michigan Road (February 17, 2012)

Andy Axsom, Owner Travelers Insurance 7799 North Michigan Road (February 17, 2012)

Employee, El Amigo Restaurant, West 71st Street. (February 17, 2012)

Jose, Manager at Xclusive Cutz 7239 North Michigan Road (February 17, 2012)

Employee, Laundry Mat, West 71st Street. (February 17, 2012)

Brandon Fishburn, co-owner of Midwest Sports Complex. 7509 New Augusta Road. (February 19, 2012)

Employee, U-Stor, 6888 N. Michigan Road. (February 19, 2012)

Employee, Nu Alternative Total Salon. 6950 N. Michigan Road. (February 19, 2012)

Sister Anna Marie, St. Monica's Catholic School. North Michigan Road, Phone Interview (February 21, 2012)

Philip and Vivian Pecar Health Center, 6940 N. Michigan Road. (February 22, 2012)

Employee, Pecar Health Center Interview at Mo's Coffee House Downtown (February 22, 2012)

Volunteer teacher, St. Monica's, N. Michigan Road. (February 23, 2012)

Drew Klacik, co-professor of urban anthropology (September 2011)

James Taylor, CEO of John H. Boner Community Center. (November 10, 2011)

Melissa Benton, John H. Boner Community Center. (November 10, 2011)

Mary Moriarty Adams, City County Council, District 17. (December 8, 2011)

Appendix B:
Maps and Charts



Figure 1: Crooked Creek neighborhood as it compares to the City of Indianapolis. (Crooked Creek Quality of Life Plan)

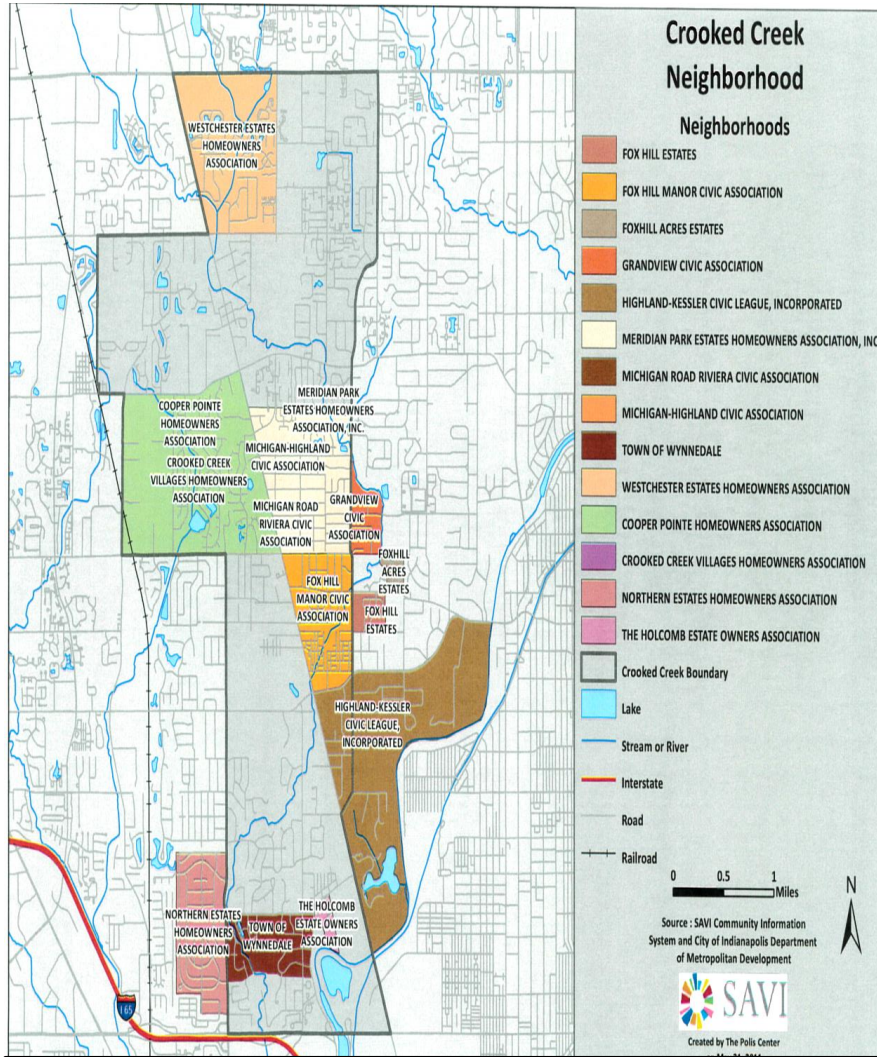


Figure 2: Map of the Crooked Creek Neighborhood broken down into smaller, neighborhood groups or associations. (savi.org)

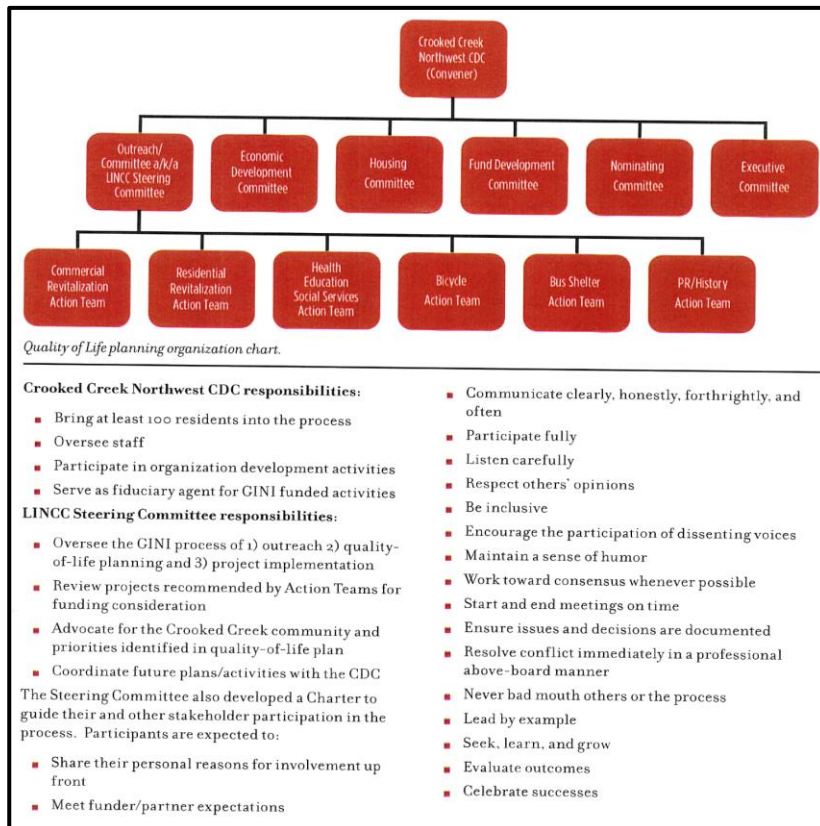


Figure 3: Break down of the Community Development Corporation and their function at the local level. (Crooked Creek Quality of Life Plan, 2012).

Appendix C:

Rezoning Cases (as recorded by the MDC Hearing Examiner)

REZONING CASE	DETAIL OF REQUEST
<p>CASE 1 :</p> <p>5673 MICHIGAN ROAD</p>	<p>NOTES FROM MDC HEARING EXAMINER: (APRIL 11, 2013, NEW PETITION: 2013-ZON-014). DENIED JOE LONG, by David Kingen, requests Rezoning of 0.39 acre, from the D-5 District, to the C-2 classification to provide for office and multifamily uses</p> <p>The requested C-2 District allows for all C-1 uses, as well as multifamily dwelling use. The petitioner has specifically indicated an intent to retain the single-family dwelling and garage, and use the site as an adult day care center. The request would be generally consistent with the Michigan Road Corridor Plan, which recommends neighborhood shopping use, specifically the C-3C zoning classification. The requested C-2 district allows for uses generally less intense than the Plan-recommended C-3C District.</p> <p>(JUNE 19, 2013, TRANSFERRED BY THE HEARING EXAMINER: 2013-ZON-014). DENIED This site is also located within Critical Area 11, as established by the Michigan Road Corridor Plan. The Critical Area 11 narrative includes the following recommendation: The area of small scale commercial uses north of Crooked Creek on the east side of Michigan Road should retain the small scale of the existing structures and should be oriented to neighborhood-scale uses rather than community-scale uses. By retaining the existing structures, particularly the single-family dwelling, and by proposing a re-use of the site that would provide a local service rather than a regional one, the proposed rezoning satisfies Critical Area directive. This 0.39-acre site is zoned D-5 and is improved with a two-story single-family dwelling and a detached accessory structure. It is abutted to the south by a fast-food restaurant, zoned C-3; to the east by unimproved property, zoned D-5; to the north by a commercial structure converted for church use, recently rezoned to the C-3C classification; and to the west, across Michigan Road, by a daycare center, zoned C-2. The requested C-2 District allows for all C-1 uses, as well as multifamily dwelling use. The petitioner has specifically indicated an intent to retain the single-family dwelling and garage, and use the site as an adult day care center. The request would be generally consistent with the Michigan Road Corridor Plan, which recommends neighborhood shopping use, specifically the C-3C zoning classification. The requested C-2 district allows for uses generally less intense than the Plan-recommended C-3C District</p> <p>JULY 17, 2013, TRANSFERRED BY HEARING EXAMINER: 2013-ZON-014 DENIED</p>

<p>CASE 2:</p> <p>5555 MICHIGAN ROAD</p>	<p>NOTES FROM METROPOLITAN DEVELOPMENT COMMISSION (DECEMBER 5, 2012, PETITION FOR INITIAL HEARING: 2012-ZON-070) APPROVED Council District #8, Douglas Realty Advisors/Douglas Realty Group, by Russell L. Brown, requests Rezoning of 20.827 acres, from the D-2 and SU-34 Districts to the C-S classification to provide for C-3 commercial uses, with prohibited use. BZA recommends approval of this petition, subject to the following amendments to the C-S Statement, site plan, and landscape plan. BZA's recommendation of approval is also subject to the following commitments being reduced to writing on the Commission's Exhibit "B" forms at least three days prior to the MDC hearing.</p> <p>NOTES FROM MDC HEARING EXAMINER: (MARCH 28, 2013, CONTINUED PETITION: 2013-CVR-802/ 2013-CVC-802) APPROVED EXISTING ZONING AND LAND US: C-S Vacant fraternal lodge, single-family dwellings. SURROUNDING ZONING AND LAND USE: North - D-2 Church, single-family dwellings, South - D-2 Single-family dwellings, East - D-1, D-2 Single-family dwellings, West - C-3, D-2, D-S Restaurant, church, single-family dwellings. NEIGHBORHOOD PLAN AREA: This site is located within the boundaries of the Michigan Road Corridor Plan, which recommends urban conservation use, indexed to very-low density residential (D-2) use, for the northern, heavily-wooded half of the site; and special use for the southern half. The portion of the site fronting Kessler Boulevard, West Drive, is recommended by the Michigan Road Corridor Plan for very low density residential use (the western approximate one-third), and by the Comprehensive Plan for special use (eastern approximate two-thirds).</p> <p>2013-CVC-802 DOUGLAS REALTY ADVISORS/ DOUGLAS REALTY GROUP, by Russell L. Brown, requests Vacation of the Lots 1, 2, 3 and 4 of Highland Kessler Homes Subdivision, as recorded in Plat Book, 29, Page 288 in the Office of the Marion County Recorder.</p> <p>2013-CVR-802 DOUGLAS REALTY ADVISORS/ DOUGLAS REALTY GROUP, by Russell L. Brown, requests Variance of development standards of the Commercial Zoning Ordinance to provide for outdoor seating for taverns, fast-food and drive-through restaurants and any establishment, where food or alcoholic beverages may be carried out (outdoor seating not permitted) and b. an overall parking ratio of four spaces per 1,000 square feet of leasable floor area (integrated centers containing grocery stores must provide four parking spaces per 1,000 square feet of leasable floor area generally, but one space per 150 square feet of leasable floor area for the grocery store specifically). (APRIL 11, 2013, CONTINUED PETITIONS: 2013-CVR-802/ 2013-CVC-802).</p>
<p>CASE 3:</p> <p>6130 MICHIGAN ROAD</p>	<p>NOTES FROM BZA DIVISION 1 SEPTEMBER 20, 2011, NEW PETITION: 2011-UV3-014 CONT'D TO 10-18-11, WITHOUT NOTICE Abandoned physical health center across from St. Monica's elementary school requests rezone for a non-profit work release facility for women with short-term sentences. This facility allows these women to keep their pre-school aged children with them as they serve their time. (Craine House) "Lot classified as Council District #8, Zoned D-2. John P. Craine House, Inc., by Virginia M. Neff, requests a variance of the use of the Dwelling Districts Zoning Ordinance to provide for an alternative sentencing program and residential facility for non-violent female offenders and their pre-school children, with parenting, GED tutoring</p>

	<p>and health and nutrition classes, substance abuse programs, employment resources and faith based programs.” (BZA DI, 2011). This dwelling arrangement is not permitted under the current zoning ordinances.</p> <p>OCTOBER 18, 2011, CONTINUED PETITION: 2011-UV3-014</p> <p>TRANSFERRED TO DIVISION 1, CONT'D TO 11-01-11, WITHOUT NOTICE</p> <p>NOVEMBER 1, 2011, TRANSFERRED PETITION: 2011-UV3-014</p> <p>APPROVED</p> <p>Addendum for November 11, 2011: “This petition was continued and transferred from October 18, 2011 hearing of Division III to the November 11, 2011 hearing of Division I, at the request of the petitioner. “On October 18, 2011, a timely request for automatic continuance was filed on behalf of a registered neighborhood organization, continuing this petition from the September 20, 2011 hearing to the October 18, 2011 hearing, without notice.” (BZA DI, 2011). Under the Notes taken from the BZA Division I hearing on November 11, 2011, The Variance of use is stated as following, “The Michigan Road Corridor Plan recommends the site for medium-density residential development, specifically the D-7 zoning district. The district is intended for multifamily uses, and has typical density of twelve to fifteen dwellings units per acre. The proposed use would be permitted within the SU-7 zoning district, which is intended for charitable, philanthropic and not-for-profit institutions.” (BZA DI, 2011). “Assuming that each adult and child would constitute one dwelling unit, the proposed use would result in the equivalent of 10 dwellings per acre, which would be less than the recommended density.” (BZA DI, 2011).</p>
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Curriculum Vitae

Heather Marie Harvey

Education

MA Anthropology, Indiana University, School of Liberal Arts, Indianapolis, IN (2017)
BS Anthropology, Ball State University, Muncie, IN (2010)

Publications

Summer 2012

Indiana University-Purdue University Indianapolis,
Indianapolis, IN, School of Liberal Arts, Department of
Anthropology, Dr. Susan Hyatt

I participated in an ethnographic field study and book publication for Habitat for Humanity. In collaboration with the Herron School of Art, the field study produced a compilation of interviews from local Habitat homeowners. Ultimately this compilation was made into a book for Habitat for Humanity's 25th year anniversary in the greater Indianapolis area. The book was unveiled in November of 2012 during Habitat for Humanity's 25th anniversary ball. Published by Habitat for Humanity of Greater Indianapolis, 2013.

Fall 2009

Ball State University, Department of Anthropology, Muncie, IN

A Day with Mimi: The Modern Face of Viet Nam, Education in Viet Nam; Edited by Gerald E. Waite, Don E. Merten, and Nguyen Hong Tan. Drinian Press, 2009. This nine month long immersive learning project involved analytical research, grant writing, travel planning, filming, anthropological methodologies and ethnographic fieldwork, along with editing. The completion of *A Day with Mimi: The Modern Face of Viet Nam*, included my research, findings and finalized paper on the educational system in Viet Nam. Published by Drinian Press, 2009. Analysis made into textbook for 7th grade Social Studies classrooms along with interactive DVD and weekly itinerary.

Related Experience

Spring 2016

District Office of Congressman André Carson, 300 E Fall Creek Pkwy E Dr. Indianapolis, IN 40205

After serving for over a year as the Staff Assistant, I transitioned into a full time caseworker, overseeing the following casework issue areas: veterans, military, Department of Education, Bureau of Prisons, Consumer Financial Protection Bureau, EEOC, Trustees office, FSSA, Medicaid, and housing and utility assistance. I also

serve as the office's Service Academy Nominations Coordinator. Duties include, but not limited to, public outreach, public speaking, interfacing with constituents, problem-solving, data entry, and casework set-up.

Fall 2015

District Office of Congressman André Carson, 300 E Fall Creek Pkwy E Dr. Indianapolis, IN 40205

After I completed my internship, I served as Staff Assistant, Internship Program Coordinator, Service Academy Nominations Coordinator, and Congressional caseworker. Casework issue areas include Corrections, Education, EEOC, Consumer Finance and Protection, Veterans Affairs, and the Trustees Office. Duties include, but not limited to, public outreach, interfacing with constituents, problem-solving, data entry, and casework set-up.

Spring 2015

District Office of Congressman André Carson, 300 E Fall Creek Pkwy E Dr. Indianapolis, IN 40205

I began in the District Office of Congressman Carson in January of 2015. Responsibilities include overall clerical management of the District Office. Duties include, but not limited to, public outreach, interfacing with constituents, problem-solving, data entry, and casework set-up. I am responsible for inputting all data collected from constituents into our data system and setting up new cases. This includes retrieving and organizing a wide range of forms such as privacy release forms and other documentations pertaining to their issue.

Spring 2015

Assistant to Financial Director, Campaign Office of Congressman André Carson. Lauren Ganapini, 115 W Washington St. Indianapolis, IN 46204

I began working in the Campaign Office January of 2015. In this office I serve as the assistant to the Financial Director. Main responsibilities include the overall management of financial donations for a Congressional campaign office. My duties consist of inputting and organizing all incoming financial donations for the 2016 campaign cycle as well as. This includes inputting all data into a software program designed specifically for tracking and compiling data on donors and fundraising events and organizations. I am responsible for vetting new donors before their donations can be accepted and deposited as well as complete knowledge and compliance of federal guidelines set forth by the FEC.

Spring 2015

US Small Business Administration Seminar on Health Care Law for Small Businesses Employers. Indianapolis Central Public Library, 40 E St. Clair Street, Indianapolis, IN 46205

As a member of Congressman Carson's District Office, I participated in helping host an informative seminar for small business owners on how the health care law applies to small business employers.

Fall 2012

2012 Ethnographic Field Study, IUPUI, Department of Anthropology, Dr. Jeanette Dickerson-Putman, Indianapolis, IN

I participated in an ethnographic field study focused on collecting and analyzing life histories. In partnership with members of Indianapolis' Naturally Occurring Retirement Community (NORC), I conducted multiple structured and semi-structured interviews with elders. The objective of this project was two-fold. First, the class employed multiple theorems and methodologies to examine the life course and identity formation. Second, the interviews were recorded, transcribed, organized and given to the elders as a memento.

Spring 2012

2012 Ethnographic Field Study, IUPUI, Department of Anthropology, Dr. Susan Hyatt, Indianapolis, IN

I took part in an ethnographic field study in partnership with the Crooked Creek Community Development Corporation. Throughout this immersive field study we utilized GIS Mapping technologies, examined historical frameworks and detailed a wide-range of economic, political and social processes. By implementing Anthropological thought and theory into our overall methodology, we were able to develop a comprehensive analysis of the communities and infrastructures along the Michigan Road Corridor.

Spring 2010

2010 Linguistics Replication Study, Ball State University, Department of Anthropology, Dr. Mai Kuha, Muncie, IN

I participated in a replication study created in the Linguistics 308 class at Ball State University. In collaboration with our professor, Dr. Kuha, we attempted to expand the existing literature on linguistic stereotyping. Along with 10 other students, we built upon the established research methodology created by Donald L. Rubin and Kim Smith in 1990. In accordance with the Institutional Review Board (IRB) on behavioral research involving human subjects, I completed my Collaborative Institutional Training

Initiative (CITI) training in March of 2010 Analysis of data is still being conducted in addition to a potential expansion of our study.

Summer 2009

2009 Viet Nam ethnographic field study and published textbook. Ball State University, Department of Anthropology, Dr. Don Merten, Professor Gerald Waite, Muncie, IN

This ethnographic field study of Viet Nam was an immersive learning project included a detailed examination into the historical frameworks, the political, economic and social forces of Viet Nam. It also required analytical planning, qualitative research, grant writing, filming, ethnographic fieldwork, and editing. Field study took place overseas in Viet Nam. *A Day With Mimi: The Modern Face of Viet Nam* was student run and faculty edited. The end result included a published instructor's guide/text and an educational DVD for 7th grade Indiana Social Studies students. Published by Drinian Press, 2009.

Spring 2009

Candlelight vigil, Center for Peace and Conflict Studies, Ball State University, Muncie, IN

Organized and implemented an on-campus conference and candlelight vigil in order to raise awareness of current events in third world nations. This conference helped raise money for four separate charities.

Presentations of Research

Spring 2014

Society for Applied Anthropology Albuquerque, NM
Civic Engagement in the Age of Devolution: How Anthropological Approaches Can Combat Chronic Disengagement and Grassroots Conflict

Presented on-going research as part of my MA Thesis. My analysis focused on how devolved social policies in the neighborhood of Crooked Creek have created conflict. The goal of this presentation was to discuss how anthropological inquiries, coupled with policy analysis, can help to understand the roots of conflict in this area.

Spring 2012

Crooked Creek Community Development Corporation
Indianapolis, IN

Aided in structuring collaborative outreach efforts between IUPUI's Department of Anthropology, the Crooked Creek Community Development Corporation (CDC) and the Fay Biccard Glick Neighborhood Center. This immersive project included

collecting ethnographic data and interviews over a six-week period. By implementing Anthropological thought and theory into our overall methodology, we were able to develop a comprehensive analysis of the communities and infrastructures along the Michigan Road Corridor. The Crooked Creek Community Development Corporation is using these analysis reports as templates for strategic planning.

Spring 2010

Undergraduate Research Conference, Butler University, Indianapolis, IN

A Day With Mimi: The Modern Face of Viet Nam, Education in Viet Nam: Presented my analysis and ethnographic research along with a brief description of textbook's complimentary instructional itinerary. Included an open forum, which detailed personal findings, comparative analyses as well as analytical recommendations focused on intellectual merits found within this cross-disciplinary, ethnographic analysis.

Spring 2010

Anthropology Student Research Conference, Ball State University, Department of Anthropology, Muncie, IN

A Day With Mimi: The Modern Face of Viet Nam, Education in Viet Nam: Presented my analysis and ethnographic research along with a brief description of textbook's complimentary instructional itinerary. Included an open forum, which detailed personal findings, comparative analyses as well as analytical recommendations focused on intellectual merits found within this cross-disciplinary, ethnographic analysis.

Spring 2009

Center for Peace and Conflict Studies, Ball State University, Muncie, IN

The Ravages of War: Bombies in Laos

This paper was presented at a Center for Peace and Conflict Studies fund raising conference and candlelight vigil. We utilized this event to raise money and awareness for those in stressed nations. My analysis focused of the ongoing struggle to find, remove and detonate the remaining bombs scattered across the country of Laos.

Awards, Honors & Services

February 2015

Nominated for **William M. Plater Civic Engagement Medallion**, Indianapolis, IN.

Summer 2012

Dean's List, Indianapolis University Purdue University, Indianapolis, IN

Spring 2012	Dean's List , Indianapolis University Purdue University, Indianapolis, IN
Summer 2009	Dean's List , Ball State University, Muncie, IN
December 2008	Troyer Grant , Ball State University, Department of Anthropology, Muncie, IN
2000-2002	Bishop Chatard High School Service Award , Indianapolis, IN
2005-2013	Volunteer: (Muncie) Animal Shelter, Humane Society of Indianapolis, IN
	Red Cross Blood Drive, BSU Peace Center
2000-2005	Volunteer: (Indianapolis) Joy's House, Little Sisters of the Poor, Luscious Newsom Food for the Poor

Computer Skills

Microsoft Word, Excel, PowerPoint, Access, Outlook, SPSS, GIS, SAVI, SPRY, IQ, and NGP

Related Coursework

Spring 2013--ANTH 509, *Modern Material Culture* (IUPUI, Indianapolis, IN)

Spring 2013--SPEA 512, *Policy Process* (IUPUI, Indianapolis, IN)

Fall 2012--SPEA-V 500, *Urban Sustainability* (IUPUI, Indianapolis, IN)

Summer 2012--Anthropology 606, *Ethnographic Field Study* (IUPUI, Indianapolis, IN)

Spring 2012--Anthropology 565, *Anthropological Thought* (IUPUI, Indianapolis, IN)

Spring 2012--Anthropology 606, *Ethnographic Field Study* (IUPUI, Indianapolis, IN)

Fall 2011--Anthropology 560, *Urban Anthropology* (IUPUI, Indianapolis, IN)

Fall 2011--Anthropology 501, *Fundamentals of Applied Anthropology* (IUPUI, Indianapolis, IN)

Fall 2011--Anthropology 560A, *Indians of North America* (IUPUI, Indianapolis, IN)

Spring 2010--Anthropology 308, *Introduction to Anthropological Linguistics* (Ball State University, Muncie, IN)

Fall 2009--Sociology 427, *Sociology of Religion* (Ball State University, Muncie, IN)

Fall 2009 --Anthropology 301, *History of Method and Theory in Anthropology* (Ball State University, Muncie, IN)

Summer 2009--Anthropology 440, *Viet Nam Field Study* (Ball State University, Muncie, IN)

Spring 2009--ID 301, *Introduction to Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution* (Ball State University, Muncie, IN)

Spring 2009--Anthropology 311, *Ethnicity and Race* (Ball State University, Muncie, IN)